/120 cont./

621 166 241 These periodically recurring radial movements from a fixed center (the village with its planting) do not affect, in sociological respects, the substance of the village: normally the whole village migrates. In this respect, however, it is different with regard to a second type of village movement, which is not characterized by the going back and forth of the short forest-sojourns, but rather takes place over longer periods of time and only in one direction. The Waika live only about five years from one planting and then move to a new one laid out beforehand, which is usually about a day's journey away. Practically every village known to us has an old and a new planting, for since the chonta palm (Guilielma gasipaes), still cultivated today and useful in many ways, has a different life span than the various types of bananas, overlapping in the utilization of the plantings cannot be [173] avoided. If a newly established planting is bearing enough bananas, the whole village is moved to the new planting; the names and the site of earlier plantings are remembered exactly, however, so that from this the history of each individual village, i.e., its shifting in Waika territory, and consequently the history of the Waika themselves in their territorial aspect, can be reconstructed 621 for two to three generations. Such a move to a new place, how- 166 ever, is also the occasion for changes in the composition of the 161 village, for a split as a rule, for in the meantime, because of the 173 enormous /121/ surplus of births, which the Waika have to register today, the village has grown far beyond the limit of the number of persons that can be governed well under their institution-poor system. The partition of the village is not done at discretion, but exactly along the lines of separation indicated by the above- [431] mentioned composition by groups of families. One or more groups [182] of families are the bearers of the new villages, and the memory of the way the new village was founded by the union of several groups of families is ceremonially represented as shown, in the gift-exchange.

/7 cont./

114 inhabited by an old population living in a wholly primitive state.
174 The Aruak were said to have been subjugated later by the Karaiben /Carib/, who, in turn, met powerful resistance on the part of the warlike Xiriśna and Waikś (36). Elsewhere the same

36. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, pp. 15/16.

investigator writes: "On the Merewari and upper Orinoco Karaiben live together with Arowaken, whereas the upper Uraricuéra and the Parima Range are entirely in the hands of the allophylian Schirianś and Waika" (37). I, too, met neither Karaiben nor

37. Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 233.

Aruak tribes in the Demini-Aracś region.

114 On a tribal map of that region drawn by Nimuendajú (38),
131
174

38. This map is in the possession of the scientific division of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in Rio de Janeiro.

Xiriśna are given as the inhabitants of the Rio Demini, along with the date 1874. Rodrigues also reports that at the end of the nineteenth century members of this tribe lived both along the banks of that stream and along its tributaries, the Cuieiras and Mamimêu; from there they extended their roving expeditions as far as the Catrimani (39).

39. Rodrigues, 1885, p. 136.

173 /8/ Today only one civilized Xiriśna family is living on the
115 lower Demini as planters, but it no longer has any connection
[131] at all with its original, living fellow-tribesmen. This family, whose members speak Portuguese exclusively, told me that the region of the Demini has been the land of the Xiriśna from olden times. On account of frequent attacks on the part of the Waikś,

/8 cont./

however, they had withdrawn into regions remote from the river. Their last maloka on the Demini was taken over by a Waikâ tribe in 1934. This is the place where today the Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" is located, on the right bank of the middle Demini, just below the Cachoeira Auatsinaua (40) (41). In 1939, the

40. Holdridge visited the Xiriâna here in 1932. (Holdridge, 1933, p. 380.)

41. According to information which Nimuendajú obtained in Manaus in 1927 from a man named Domingos Campos, Aruak-speaking Indians on the Demini were supposed to have been called Xiriâna (Nimuendajú, 1955, pp. 150/51). This brings up all kinds of questions which are yet to be solved. Thus, there could have been an Aruak tribe of this name, for the shards which I found on the Demini, as well as the name of this river, indicate that members of that linguistic group once lived here. It might also be possible, however, that Aruak groups, after their subjugation by the Xiriâna, became assimilated with the latter. On the other hand, it is not impossible that individual Xiriâna adopted the Aruak language, and finally there still remains open the surmise that the Indians mentioned by Domingos Campos are not identical with the actual Xiriâna, but were merely called that by the caboclo population.

In the literature, the two tribal designations "Xiriâna" (members of the Aruak linguistic family) and "Xiriană" (independent linguistic family) (Loukotka, 1942,

Surára Pakidái Shiriana Sanumani

/19 cont./

411 184 114 [173] almost identical with that of the Surára and Pakidái, except for the fact that the former is set off at the ends. This confirms the statements made by the Indians investigated by me who said that they obtained bows of this kind and the knowledge of how to make them themselves from the Xiriána. In reply to my question as to why their bows were not set off at the end, I was told that the Xiriána demand this deviation. In the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte /Museum for Ethnology and Prehistory/, there are two Xiriána bows which were collected by Koch-Grünberg (12.25:29, 12.25:31). They are relatively small specimens, however, for they are only 1.92 and 1.82 meters high, respectively. A bow which came from the Xamatári of the Rio Maiá, a left tributary of the Rio Cauaboris, and which is also in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:4) and is two meters high, has exactly the same shape as the Surára and Pakidái one, that is, without the offset ends. This is not surprising, for, according to the statement of the Surára chief Hewemão, the Xamatári are likewise satellites of the Xiriána (see p. 12). Finally, it should be mentioned that the same bow-form has also been documented for the Waiká in Venezuela (70).

70. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

411 249 824 The arrows -- xerêka --, whose total length comes to between 2-2.12 meters (shaft length 1.89-1.94 meters; weight, 60-90 grams) (71) (72), are made out of arrow cane -- xerekaîbe --

[114]

71. These measurements confirm Weule's statement when he says that the arrow must correspond in length, shape, and weight to the bow, in order to guarantee a certain accuracy of aim (Weule, 1899, p. 6).

72. Pertinent comparisons with other South American tribes are to be found in the chart by Ranke (Ranke, 1903, p. 347).

Surára
Pakidái

/23 cont./

411 individual archers. The aforementioned men then shot three arrows into the air successively (one with a large lancet-shaped point, one with a small lancet-shaped point, and one with a bone point), and each one hit the leaf, usually even the center of it. This Indian [114] ability to hit targets even with an indirect shot has already been pointed out by Friederici and substantiated in the sources (107).

107. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

I also observed, however, that not all the men were equally good archers, although from childhood on, of course, they are constantly handling bow and arrow. My servant Mateus and I each carried a shotgun, 20 caliber, with us, and the use of our guns aroused the interest of only a few men. The aforementioned three Surára and the Pakidái, however, as well as several other warriors, after a very short time, knew how to handle them just as well as bow and arrow.

[114] Koch-Grünberg came to similar conclusions on his journeys, for he writes: "This is not to say that every Indian is an accomplished hunter. Among these people, too, talents and inclinations are unevenly distributed..." (108).

108. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 59.

[422] It should be mentioned further that bows and arrows repre-
[746] sent the most valuable private property of every man, and they
[156] also play a large part in all magical and religious practices (cures of the sick, festivals, dances, etc.). Furthermore, the weapons
[437] are favorite trade items and gifts of honor which the Surára and
[431] Pakidái occasionally receive from the Xiriána or give the latter during visits (see pp. 13, 159/160). A young man who wants to
[584] marry a girl must also first make a bow and five different arrows
[764] for his future father-in-law. /24/ If a warrior dies, his weapons are burned with him, so that he may use them on his journey to the moon and on the moon itself (see p.150 ).

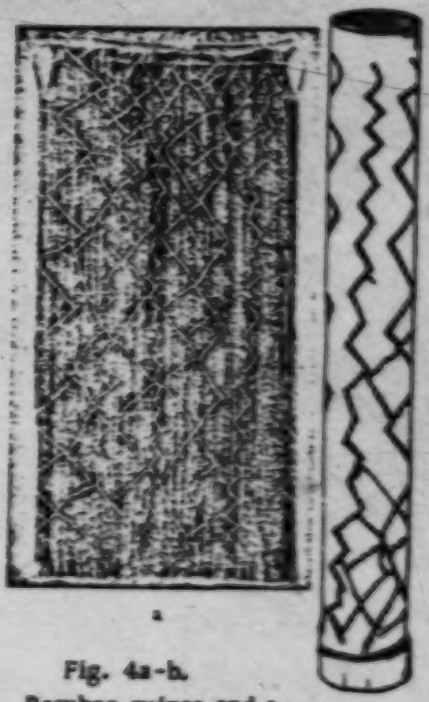
411 Before the Surára and Pakidái adopted the large reverse flat
●173 bow from the Xiriána, I was told, their forefathers were acquainted with only the branch-bow

Sutára Pakidái

/24 cont./

000 411 194 173 411 726 with only the branch-bow. Accordingly, the present-day child's toy would represent a "survival" /quoted in English/. The Waikâ, Zerries reports, had a tradition according to which they completely lacked even bows and arrows in olden times. Wars at that time were waged only with clubs. He also found a few specimens and describes them

411 415 531



a b

Fig. 4a-b. Bamboo quiver and a rubbing of the incised design.

173 411 726 as long, flat sword-clubs, called "hîmo," which are made from the wood of the pupunha palm (109). Moreover, he mentions long

411 171 578 wooden poles with which, to this day, local conflicts are settled, which reminds him of the duels of the Botokuden /Botocudo/ (110) (111).

109. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

110. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

111. Zerries, 1964b, p. 75.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/75 cont./ According to their own statements, both tribes regard the Xirišna as their culture-bearers in this case too. The latter, however, likewise merely adopted agriculture from their higher Karaiben neighbors (348).

348. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

b) Hunting

The majority of Surára and Pakidái men are excellent hunters and practice their hunting with the large bows and arrows described above (see pp. 36 ff.), which they know how to handle masterfully. In addition, they know the habits of the animals precisely. They discover every trail of a wild animal, no matter how faint, sniff it, and announce the time when it was at this place. Often they then follow it for hours through the almost impenetrable forest; sometimes they are /76/ gone for several days. Moreover, they know how to attract the animals by imitative sounds.

There are two methods of hunting, the individual hunt -- larí -- (349) and the collective hunt -- norí -- (350). The latter,

359. In this case, the hunter often takes his wife along (if he has two or more wives, the oldest usually accompanies him), who must carry the slain animal, or pieces of meat from it, into the maloka.

350. Among the Waikí, too, there are these two hunting methods, and the names sound very similar there, "lama" and "henioma" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

however, now takes place only before the great festival in memory of the dead (see pp. 224 ff.), in order to provide sufficient supplies of meat for it. Trained dogs are trusty helpers in hunting (see pp. 185ff.).

Of larger game the wild pig (Pecari tajacu) -- poxe -- is most often killed, and after that the tapir (Tapirus americanus Brisson.) -- xíma -- and a deer species (Cervidae sp.) -- hají. The

175 before action could be taken, NabËyoma'a new husband left
699 Mahekodo-tedi for his own village (Buinabŏwei-tedi), taking with him NabËyoma, her two sons by HusiwË, and his own son by NabËyoma.

[999] The Salesian Mission in Puerto Ayacucho was authorized to handle the affair and they sent a party of men to Buinabŏwei-tedi. The Indians did not wish to lose one of their women and the Salesian Mission party had to resort to forceful but prudent measures to recover NabËyoma. She was returned to her family in Brazil in late 1956. RemoriwË subsequently made two unsuccessful trips to Brazil to find her.

174 As indicated above, the histories as I have recon-
175 structed them are no more than approximations as far as geographical locations and dates of occupation of the various sites are concerned. I am fairly certain, however, that the events themselves are accurately reported, especially those having to do with the warfare and raiding, because I obtained virtually identical versions from several informants on dif-
• 173 ferent occasions. The Yanomamŏ are good historians when it
726 comes to warfare. They have to be, lest they accept invi-
628 tations to visit villages that have old grudges against them. All of them, even young children, know who killed their relatives and the circumstances in which the killings took place. These are the subject of constant discussion in the villages.
129 The first few descriptions I recorded of the 1950-51 feast
173 in which my group was victimized by a Shamatari village were obtained from young men who could not possibly have witnessed

what happened. The later descriptions obtained from much older informants were virtually identical with those I originally recorded from the younger informants. I believe, accordingly, that the accounts of the time period antecedent to the life-span of even my oldest informants are accurate in so far as their major features are concerned.

That the histories are filled with treachery, great violence, and much bloodshed will be apparent. The nature of Yanomamö warfare, however, has not changed. It was being conducted as vigorously and in similar ways in 1964-1966 while I conducted my field-work.